THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 21 SATURDAY, AUGUST 18th, 1917 Price One Penny

THE TURNING TIDE: By Mrs. CEDAR PAUL

AN IMPRESSION OF THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE OF AUGUST 10th, 1917

It does not always happen that the greatest "political feature" of an event like the Labour Party Conference of August 10th is likewise the incident of greatest dramatic interest and of the most vital historical importance, but I think it can hardly be doubted that Henderson's speech was all these three in one. Henderson's position is a most extraordinary one, and he fills it with remarkable skill, producing in the minds even of those who differ from him most strongly an impression of sterling personal honesty. I felt it at Bristol and at Manchester, when his whole attitude was utterly repugnant to me; I felt it on Friday, when I sympathised with a man who was reluctantly forcing himself to going as near as a prominent politician perhaps ever goes to acknowledging to himself and to the world, "My former attitude was mistaken, and I have had to revise it; believe what I now tell you, forget what I told you on such and such a date." For it was a greatly chastened Cabinet Minister who addressed the Labour Party Congress last week, and though he was not speaking officially for the Government, he could not, in his peculiar dual rôle, completely divest himself of his responsibilities and powers as a member of the famous War Cabinet, and one could not but feel that he was speaking for a greatly chastened Government.

Henderson, of course, himself assures us that his outlook on the War issues is unchanged. (He did not say this at the Congress, but he said it elsewhere in public quite recently.) Consistency is a conveniently elastic term, and the man who spoke at the London Conference was as little the man who spoke at Manchester, as the Lloyd George of the last two or three speeches is the Lloyd George of the knock-out blow, or the Lloyd George who was going to crush his way through to Berlin. The logic of the Russian Revolution, the logic of events in general, has been too strong both for Henderson and for his master. The British Government of war-makers, like the German Government of war-makers, has now in truth but one aim. Neither side hopes any longer for victory; each is ready to grasp almost any solution which can be claimed as something other than defeat. In fact, the militarists of both sides are defeated, and to many of us it has long seemed that this defeat of both sides offers the only hope of a victory for the vital essence of civilisation.

The way in which everything turned upon Henderson's statement was shown clearly enough before he delivered it by the refusal of the Congress to follow the official program. The Executive had suggested that after the statement had been made, the first resolution, in favour of accepting the invitation to Stockholm on the condition that the international conference should be consultative and not mandatory, was to be discussed; that an adjournment of two hours should then take place to enable the various sections, the miners, the railwaymen, etc., to decide on their policy in separate committee meetings; and that the vote should be taken almost immediately on re-assembling. But the delegates of the leading organisations felt that the discussion would be blind unless they had first settled their policy, and they insisted that the adjournment for consultations in committee was to take place immediately after Henderson had been heard.

Another indication of the importance of the speech is that before it had been delivered, few would have hazarded a prediction as to what would be the issue of the Conference. But when the Secretary of the Labour Party had spoken, it could hardly be said that the issue was any longer in doubt. The only questions that remained open were: how big the Stockholm majority was going to be, and whether (it is not unusual at party conferences) the delegates in their wisdom would think fit to endeavour with their left hands to take away what they had given with their right.

Another notable contrast with the last two conferences was the way in which the I.L.P. section and the enthusiasts for "victory" had changed rôles. At the two former conferences the members of the I.L.P. section (backed at Manchester, as yesterday, by the B.S.P.) were, if not leaders of a forlorn hope, at least aware that their hour had not yet come, and they were noisy, defiant and aggressive. In London, during the greater part of the Conference, the casual spectator would hardly have known that there was such an organisation as the I.L.P. in existence at all. They combined the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. Till almost the very end of the Conference (if another zoological simile may be excused) they lay low and kep' on sayin' nuffin' with the persistence of Tar Baby when challenged by Brer Rabbit!

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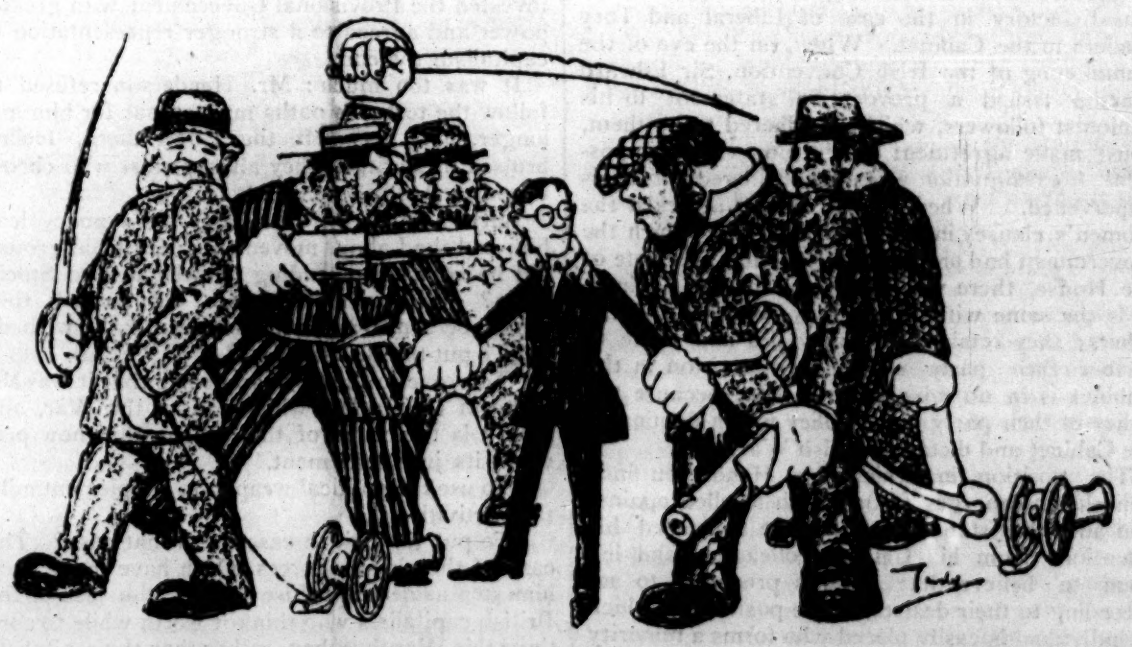
Of Special Interest This Week!

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

TO STOCKHOLM.

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

AYLESBURY REVELATIONS.



"In the riot outside the Brotherhood Church one person—a delegate—was arrested"

"Suppression of a Pacifist Riot" From the NEW YORK CALL

JINGO RIOTS

Scotland Yard alleges that there was a crowd of 8,000 rioters outside the Brotherhood Church, and that as the crowd was so large they could not cope with it. Yet they admit that when the door was smashed by a sledge-hammer only 50 persons broke into the church. As a matter of fact the crowd was not very large and if the police had had instructions to maintain order and to insure that the delegates should assemble and transact their business in peace the police undoubtedly could have performed the duty with complete success, and would gladly have done it. It seems to us a little unfair that men who were allowed without rebuke from the authorities to smash up the church should now be punished by the same authorities in order to preserve respect for law and order.

We are glad that the Stockport comrades succeeded in holding the Conference which was transferred to the Stockport Labour Church after the proprietors of Milton Hall, Manchester, had broken faith in deference to "the attitude of the Watch Committee," and had cancelled the agreement to let. The "Manchester Guardian" publishes three instructive photographs of the attempt to wreck the Conference. The first shows an organiser of the British Workers' National League chalking on the pavement: "Traitors' Peace Meeting, Labour Hall, 2.30: roll up now, Stockport." The second picture shows the crowd which assembled in response to the appeal, but which for the most part remained passively observing, to the great disappointment of the eight well-dressed young men in tweeds and flannels, who formed the storming party, and who were believed to be officers in mufti. If each organisation sending delegates to the Conference would send a group of its members to wait outside and help to form public opinion and to mould the psychology of the crowd, no disorder would appear. The third picture shows the police watching the crowd.

THE W.S.F. AND THE "DREADNOUGHT"

The time has come when our readers and supporters must be told the plain unvarnished truth about our Propaganda work and the Dreadnought. We have often asked our friends for money, but never with so much need for an immediate and generous response. Unless we can get a large and permanent addition to our weekly income, either the propaganda work, or the Dreadnought, or both, must come to a standstill. Meetings and processions cannot be held without money. The Dreadnought cannot be produced without funds. Yet each week we find that under every heading we are spending more money than we receive. *This cannot go on another week.* We appeal to all our friends to do their utmost to prevent what would amount to a catastrophe to the Peace movement of this country. We are fighting a capitalist system and a capitalist Government. Our enemies have as much money as they require. We have only enough to make them aware of our existence. With 1 per cent. of their financial strength we should be able to wage something like equal warfare with them, because what we lack in money we make up in the knowledge of a just cause. But with only about one-millionth of their financial strength to back us, we find it hard indeed.

Please help at once.

Edgar I. Lansbury,
Hon. Treasurer

WHAT THE RAILWAY MAN SAID

"When people can be induced to see that there is something higher to live for than the big shilling, when both the capitalist and the worker come to understand what life ought to be; they will wish to discard the capitalist system and enter into the new life. But sometimes I think that all the agitators are flogging the walnut tree that bears no fruit instead of getting down to the roots, and that we shall have to go back to the child." So said a railwayman on the platform at Sheffield. We advised him to come to see our Day Nursery and Montessori class at the Mothers' Arms, where social training is given to the children.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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STOCKHOLM AND PEACE

One turns from a study of the speeches of Henderson and Lloyd George on the Stockholm Conference with mental pain—these petty recriminations, the undignified falsehoods and manœuvrings that are revealed, how foul are the politics which affect the destinies of millions!

But what emerges? Surely the main fact is the unwisdom of the attempt to associate representatives of Labour with representatives of Capital in the prosecution of the War.

How sharply is differentiated the position of the Labour Member of the War Cabinet from that of his Liberal and Unionist colleagues. There is no suggestion that the holding of the dual office is unsatisfactory in the case of Liberal and Tory leaders in the Cabinet. When, on the eve of the summoning of the Irish Convention, Sir Edward Carson issued a provocative statement to his Unionist followers, which, if adhered to by them, must make agreement by the Convention impossible, his resignation was not considered; no crisis supervened. When Lord Curzon attacked the women's clauses in the Franchise Bill, which the Government had promised to leave to a free vote of the House, there was no trouble in the Cabinet. It is the same with Bonar Law, Balfour and the others; they retain their party ties and strive to further their party ends; their position in the Cabinet is in no wise incompatible, because the policy of their party is the policy which dominates the Cabinet and dictates British War aims.

The position in which Mr. Henderson finds himself, the charges of bad faith levelled against him and the statements that he concealed his intentions from his Cabinet colleagues and led them to believe that he was prepared to act according to their desires, is the position in which an individual is easily placed who forms a minority of one on a committee. The majority all insist on expounding their views; it is easy to talk to a sympathetic audience (the Cabinet Ministers probably all talked at once often enough); it is pleasant to argue out fine points of difference; they do not desire to hear the view of the man in the minority; they scarcely listen when he speaks; the chairman, strongly adhering to the majority, gives them the preference in debate, although they are so many, and sternly calls the minority to order if he interrupts. Browbeaten by their insistence, wounded by their lack of consideration, the man of the minority finds himself seized with an unwonted reticence; his mind loses its accustomed agility and self-confidence. He ceases to protest, and the majority, all exultant, either lightly assume his silence to mean consent, or even forget, because here amongst them he is alone, that his consent is important, that out there in the Labour world he is a power. They accuse him of disloyalty because he has done what he thought right, without making them realise his intention, though as a matter of fact they refused to realise, because, in their view, his disloyalty consists in not having agreed to continue subordinating his beliefs to theirs. The doctrine of loyalty to the majority is often strained to silence inconvenient protests by minorities. In the eyes of the wire-pulling politician no crime is so obnoxious as that of telling the truth to the people outside.

Mr. Henderson was invited to become a member of the Cabinet in order to sustain in the minds of the workers the belief that this is their War as well as the War of their masters. Mr. Henderson was welcome in the Cabinet, as his successor will be welcome, so long as he was content merely to play the part of keeping Labour quiet. He has served the capitalists well. Mr. Lloyd George and the entire capitalist Press admit that no one has been more zealous than he in inducing the workers to accept the Munitions Act, the Military Service Acts and in calming Labour unrest whenever it has arisen. The "Daily News" correspondent says:

> Mr. Lloyd George had originally been in favour of the Stockholm Conference, but Mr. Lloyd George is very sensitive to the currents of public feeling, and he got "off" the Stockholm Conference more quickly than Mr. Henderson could, because Mr. Henderson's views were founded on principle.

The remark is interesting. It supports the view that it is not Mr. Lloyd George who has forced Mr. Henderson to resign, but some outside force, in response to which (and not from principle) Mr. Lloyd George acts. But the power behind Mr. Lloyd George is not the general feeling of the country; it is the specialised interests on behalf of which the War is being fought and the diplomacy leading to it was built up. Either Mr. Lloyd George or the forces behind him have demanded very much of Mr. Henderson. He went at their bidding to Russia to prove to the Revolutionaries that the Allies are not fighting for capitalist aims. He was expected to "look after" the Russian delegates, in order that they might not fall too much into the company of International Socialists, who would disabuse them of that view, and after he had done this, and gone with them to Paris, he was expected to rest under the implication of having done these things, not by agreement, but without telling his colleagues, and was even obliged to refund the cost of entertaining the Russian delegates and made to pay it out of his own pocket. The money matter is relatively a little thing, but it proves the fact of the agreement. And then, having advised his Labour colleagues, again by agreement, to send delegates to Stockholm, he was expected to turn right about face and give directly opposite advice. He was expected to do this for the worst of all reasons: to do it because it was thought that the power of Labour in Russia had now sufficiently waned for its wishes to be disregarded; this waning being caused by the fact, in part, due to his own arguments and pressure, that the Russian Socialists of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council have now relinquished a part of their authority, and have invested the Provisional Government with greater power and agreed to a stronger representation of capitalism thereon.

It was too much: Mr. Henderson refused to follow the tortuous paths marked out for him any longer. He has left the Government, feeling bruised in spirit, as they always must who choose expediency to be their guide and find it fail.

But where does Mr. Henderson's policy lead him and the Labour movement? On what ground did he advise the sending of delegates to Stockholm? With what mandate did he ask they should be armed? In his own words, he wished:

"To put the British case."

"To prove to the German people that it was the crime of their rulers which caused the War, and that it is the crime of their rulers that now prevents its just settlement."

"To use the political weapon to supplement military activities."

"To put the British case." What case? The case of the sinister forces which have made even him step aside and refuse to act; the case of the British capitalists who think it worth while to continue this War that they, rather than the capitalists of the Central Empires, should grow wealthy from business done in the near East and extending into Asia.

To prove to the German people that it is their rulers alone, and in no wise ours, who caused the War and who force it to continue. Could Mr. Henderson say that with honest conviction, now that he has learnt something of our own Government's diplomacy? Did he not find proof that forces in this country are desirous of continuing the War and of settling it on anything but an altruistic basis, in the fact that the Government, as he was aware, had determined to refuse the Stockholm passports? Was no suspicion awakened in his mind by the Government's willingness to further the project of the Stockholm Conference when the Russian Socialists were all-powerful and apparently on the point of drawing Russia out of the War, and the Government's bitter hostility to the Stockholm Conference as soon as that possibility had passed? Does he not know that there are forces in Britain, as well as in Germany, which fear the workers will learn too much if their representatives ever come face to face, and that the scales with which anger and fear have covered their eyes, will fall away when each side finds the other making the same complaint of atrocities, reciting precisely the same parrot-cries?

Mr. Henderson urged the Labour Conference to put aside "Party considerations" and to be guided only by "national interest." He stated that the Socialist and Labour Parties of the world could not negotiate peace terms, that this must be done by the Governments of the respective countries. Regrettably enough the Socialist and Labour parties cannot yet enforce their will, but surely, as Socialists, we believe that the Socialist and Labour parties of the world, having entered into an international agreement with each other, should use all the power and pressure they can command in forcing their own terms upon the Governments! Unfortunately Mr. Henderson did not voice this view. He desires that the people may have a voice in the settlement, but he is apparently content to leave the negotiations to such as those who have compelled him to leave the Cabinet. Mr. Henderson is to be congratulated on having left the Cabinet, but the advice that he has given to the Labour Conference leaves us absolutely without confidence in his leadership. The reasons he gave for going to Stockholm were the worst possible reasons. Unless he and his colleagues will meet the International Conference in a broader spirit the good of their going will be greatly impaired.

Nevertheless, as, like the Government, we have faith that the truth will come out when the delegates from the belligerent countries come together, we rejoice whole-heartedly that the Labour Conference has decided to send delegates to Stockholm. We trust that it may decide to stand firm in spite of the Government's refusal of passports as the French Socialist party is doing, having called a special convention to consider the action to be taken. It is noticeable that the French comrades go further than Mr. Thomas, who stands towards them as Mr. Henderson does to the British Labour Party, his resolution that the Stockholm Conference should be conditional on a sort of preliminary trial by jury to decide the question of responsibility before other matters could be discussed being rejected by his party. Both the French Socialists and the British Labour Party have been busy formulating Peace Terms. We must point out that a party which adopts on paper the most excellent terms, does not help to attain those terms by assisting a Government which is fighting to secure other terms. The position of the Nationalistic Socialist and Labour parties and their respective Governments in the War seems to us to be this. Two great bullies, the Governments of the Allies, are fighting each other for the territory of a people too weak to protect itself. The serfs in the lands, which groan under the rule of each of the bullies declare that they are fighting for the freedom of the serfs in the land ruled by the opposing bully. They therefore back their own bully against the other bully, who is no better and no worse than their own. That the Serfs propound programmes of freedom which they cannot and do not try to enforce upon their bullies does not affect the matter.

But we agree with the Dutch "Handelsblad," that though the decisions to be reached at the Stockholm Conference are not binding on the Governments, the Governments will not in the long run be able to resist them. From this standpoint the peace proposals of international labour are of immense importance. The Executive of the British Labour Party has put forward proposals which have not yet been adopted. One is struck by the fact that in many respects they are those of the much-abused U.D.C. On the whole they are less international in spirit, less Socialistic and proletarian than those put forward by the workers of other nations. The proposals are somewhat contradictory. They include:—

Acceptance of the Russian formula, "No annexations no indemnities; the right of the people to decide their own destiny.

Democratisation of all nations.

Limitation and nationalisation of armaments.

An International Legislature and Court of Justice.

Abolition of Secret Diplomacy and Foreign Minister to be responsible to Parliament.

An International fund to restore devastated areas under direction of an International Commission.

A Court of Claims and Accusations to be set up to try particular Governments and officers for their misdeeds in the War.

A ridiculous proposal this which would lead to endless recrimination, but might reveal the absurdity of imagining that War atrocities are all committed on one side.

Restoration reparation and payment for all damage to Belgium by Germany.

This conflicts with the International restoration fund proposal.

Restoration of Serbia and Montenegro to their several peoples, reorganisation of the Balkan Peninsula by Conference of its national representatives, or International Commission.

Restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France.

Italians outside Italian boundary to be reunited to Italy

A difficult proposition of which the Italian Imperialists would seek to take advantage.

Poland and Luxemburg to decide their own destiny.

Palestine to be removed from Turkish rule given to the Jews under international guarantee.

Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia and all territories under Turkish rule to be administered by an International Commission.

Tropical Africa, North of the Zambesi and South of the Sahara to be neutralised and administered by International Commission, the "open door" and freedom to traders of all nations to be preserved.

The last phrase sounds specially like the U.D.C. If Government by International Commission is so desirable, why not apply it to India and the whole of Africa?

In view of probable world shortage, arrangements on an international basis for allocating and conveying supplies to the nations according to their needs, not their purchasing power; Government control of indispensable commodities

(Continued on page 831, col. 3.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

THE LORDS AND THE FRANCHISE. TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

The revelations in regard to the sale of honours, involving the buying of seats in the House of Lords by contributions to party funds, which were made in the Upper House on August 7th by Lords Selborne, Salisbury and others, cast a vivid light upon the character of the Upper House. Lord Curzon cynically defended the practice on the ground that some men have no other asset than their wealth, that parties need funds, and that "it is not necessarily a dishonour to receive any honour in the gift of which party funds played a part." It is generally agreed that it is shameful to secure a seat in the House of Commons by bribery, but it is openly admitted that seats in the House of Lords are thus obtained.

These revelations about the composition of the Second Chamber are of special interest at the moment in view of the Trafalgar Square demonstration on Sunday, which is to demand Adult Suffrage and the Abolition of the House of Lords. The Government's Franchise Bill has been shelved until next session, and the possibility of a general election increases the probability that it will never reach the Statute-book. This will be no matter for regret, as it is an unsatisfactory measure. The Bill withholds the Parliamentary vote from women till they are thirty years of age, and even then gives it upon a property basis. It retains dual voting for Parliamentary purposes, giving two votes to business men, one to university graduates. It still keeps the unjust pauper disqualification for women both for Parliamentary and Local Government purposes; for men it retains it for Local Government purposes. For Local Government purposes it introduces plural voting in towns where it had been abolished, and retains the disfranchisement of the working man's wife, who may not qualify for the same property as her husband. It fails to establish a system of continuous registration which would prevent the periodical disfranchisement of the workers. We have waited so long for a Franchise Act that when it comes it ought to be a thorough-going measure which will settle the franchise controversy for all time.

VOTING BY PROXY.

We object to the Government proposal to arrange for the soldiers to vote by proxy. The proper plan is for the soldiers to vote by post.

AMERICAN FOOD CONTROL.

Mr. Hoover, the American Food Controller, appears to be more drastic in his methods than Lord Rhondda, under whom, in spite of his promises, prices continually rise. When on the Belgium Relief Commission Mr. Hoover eliminated private profit altogether: in America he has shown more deference to the interests. But he seems to be moving faster than our food controllers have done in regard to wheat. His administration is preparing to buy wheat, and he declares that it will take the whole harvest if necessary to maintain a fair price. An auditing committee is being appointed and various more or less drastic regulations are issued to prevent hoarding, profiteering, and speculation, and Mr. Hoover is setting up a committee composed of representatives of producers and of the consuming elements of the community. Export is to be limited and a Commission is being set up to determine a fair price, on which will sit representatives of producers and of the "consuming elements of the community." This should include the working woman housewife. In this country traders and financiers alone are represented on the Food Commissions. But whilst these expedients may prove better than nothing the only really satisfactory course to adopt is to nationalise the food supply and to eliminate private profit altogether. Export of grain from America is to be strictly limited so as to protect the home population and the food administration will stipulate that a large proportion of the wheat export shall be in the form of flour to prevent unemployment in U.S. mills or the curtailment of mill feed for U.S. dairy cattle. This will probably mean that in this country cattle food will become dearer and that will have an instant effect in raising the cost and increasing the scarcity of babies' milk. If farming were carried on, not for profit but for the good of the community, the children would be protected at all costs, but as it is the children are bound to suffer.

A LESSON IN SOCIALISM.

It is said that the allotment holders of Leeds having grown more produce than they could use, have given a part away. Under Socialism this would cause general satisfaction, but under the capitalist competitive system the Leeds Market Gardeners' Association has grown angry and at a meeting on August 13th it was stated that steps would be taken to prevent the allotment holders from getting any seeds next year. It was, however, pointed out that the holders could get seeds from the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

THE RECRUITING SCHEME FRAUD.

After the scandalous revelations in regard to the conscribing of the unfit, it was announced that the recruiting business should be transferred from military to civil auspices, Lord Derby undoubtedly desiring to shuffle off the unpopularity certain to fall on the shoulders of those responsible for satisfying the hideous demands of the militarists for more men and yet more men. But whilst the War Office is anxious to escape the responsibility it is still determined not to relinquish the power. It is now announced that Brigadier-General A. Campbell Geddes, *who has been in charge of recruiting at the War Office* since May, 1916, is to discard his military title in order that he may continue to take charge of recruiting under the new scheme. Is this why Mr. Neville Chamberlain resigned?

IRELAND.

Kilkenny has followed Clare in electing a Sinn Fein candidate, Mr. W. T. Cosgrave, by a majority of almost two to one. Mr. Cosgrave is one of those who was sentenced to death in 1916. He was elected member of the Dublin Corporation nine years ago, and was noted for his ardent advocacy of the better housing of the poor. It may seem strange to non-Irish people that the result of the Kilkenny election caused no surprise either to Sinn Feiners or their opponents; it was a foregone conclusion that Cosgrave would win. At present the Sinn Feiners are reviewing the Nationalist lists as to the most likely centre for the next election; if success follows their footsteps so rapidly as since the release of the Irish prisoners, the Irish Parliament will soon have quite a formidable number. The Convention must hurry up if it is not to be utterly futile and forestalled.

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The Irish Labour Conference in Derry last week decided to send two delegates to Stockholm. Members of the Sailors' Union present threatened to refuse to let them sail! By an overwhelming majority a resolution was passed in favour of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council peace terms.

THE VICTORY OF THE ENGINEERS.

The Engineers have scored a remarkable triumph in forcing the Government to drop the Clause in the Munitions Bill relating to dilution on private work. When the Bill was introduced an accompanying memorandum stated this purpose to be its main object. The rank and file strike, which was put up in opposition to the Bill, has done its work. The result should prove to the workers that they are all-powerful if they will but act together. Concessions are also to be made in regard to leaving certificates.

STOCKHOLM AND PEACE.

(Continued from page 830.)

for "some time." Public works to be set going to prevent unemployment.

We wish we could find a demand for the handing over the industries to the workers. But surely these are matters which the people of each nation will settle on their own account.

No economic War, but "the right of each nation to the defence of its own economic interests cannot be denied."

An unfortunate phrase this last, into which the Tariff Reformers can read anything they please. Neither protest by the Labour Party Executives against the economic War nor the Government's shabby treatment of Mr. Henderson has deterred Mr. Barnes from taking his place in the War Cabinet, or Mr. Roberts from becoming Pensions Minister in the Government which is preparing the economic War simultaneously with the acceptance of these offices by Mr. Barnes and Mr. Roberts, Mr. Bonar Law the Tariff Reform Leader of the House, announced that the Prime Minister had appointed a Committee of Ministers to make ready for giving effect to the resolution by the Imperial War Conference in favour of Imperial Preference.

One of the most remarkable features of the terms put forward by the French Socialists is the proposal that Alsace-Lorraine is to settle its own destiny by plebiscite. This marks an advance from the old stubborn demand that these provinces should be forcibly wrenched from Germany and restored to France, whether the majority of their inhabitants would or no.

In sharp contradistinction to the statement of Mr. Henderson that the Governments, not the Socialist and Labour parties, must negotiate peace the French Socialists claim that—

All nations, neutral and belligerent to take part in a "revolutionary conference of peace which will be the Constituent Assembly of the society of nations."

This appeals to us, but to be practical we must surely endeavour to gain our revolution nationally before we can hope to attain it internationally.

We advise those who desire a speedy peace to concentrate on the simple and direct Russian proposals:

"No indemnities: no annexations; the right of the peoples to decide their own destiny." To all the peoples immediate peace is more valuable than indemnities.

The angry repudiation of the Pope's terms by British newspapers make imperative the question: "What terms do you want?" The Pope says:

No annexations or indemnities.

Belgium to be restored.

Alsace-Lorraine and Trentino peoples' desires to be consulted.

Poland—ancient Kingdom to be restored.

German colonies returned.

General disarmament.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE TRAIL OF THE WAR

CAPTAIN WILSON'S STATEMENT.

We welcome and highly commend the courage of Captain Wilson, M.P., who, on his release and return to this country after 20 months' imprisonment at Salzburg, in Austria, has honestly stated that he has nothing to complain of in his treatment, and that he desires to see a rapprochement between the Allies and Austria-Hungary. The "Daily Chronicle" reports Captain Wilson as saying, in the course of an interview:

"I am not a bearer of peace, but I should much like to see some rapproachement between the Entente and Austria-Hungary.

"I have no complaints at all about our treatment. Salzburg is in itself a health resort, but we felt the lack of exercise greatly. We were confined to five acres, and were allowed beyond the boundary only in charge of armed guards. It was not possible to play any games, except Badminton, on account of this lack of space. We were housed in villas, and our quarters were quite comfortable. The Russians ran their own kitchen, but we were fed from the Austrian kitchen, and though we lived mainly on parcels sent from home, I believe our rations were as good and as plentiful—or should I say scanty?—as those of the Austrian people. I don't say the Austrians are starving, but the food shortage is certainly acute. On my way home I stayed at another camp where 500 Italian officers are housed in barracks. The Italians manage everything themselves, and the camp is splendidly organised. They have half a dozen tennis courts built by themselves. The lack of freedom is very terrible, however good other conditions may be, and I know of half a dozen Russian prisoners who went mad owing to what the Germans have called barbed wire disease."

The prolonged confinement is dangerous alike to prisoners of War in this and other countries, and to the imprisoned conscientious objectors.

AYLESBURY REVELATIONS.

In this country the women interned in Aylesbury and Holloway Prisons are kept under an even closer confinement and a still more rigorous discipline than are the men. We have recorded the suicide in Holloway Prison of Mrs. Ahlers. A horrible story now comes to us from Aylesbury.

Dear Comrade,—I have been to visit ——— at Aylesbury yesterday, the 8th. When I arrived I had to wait half an hour, whilst usually I have only waited five minutes. Upon being admitted I found Mrs. —— greatly distressed; upon trying to find out the cause of the trouble, I have managed to understand that "she cannot live very long," and that someone had set upon her. I endeavoured to find out who and why, and she tried to tell me, but was forbidden to do so by the jaileress. Upon her making another effort to tell me, the jaileress jumped up, blew a whistle, and a man I have never seen before came running in; also other jaileresses grouped outside the door, and I was taken away from Mrs. ——, who cried after me "to protect her." I was then told to wait in the waiting room, and, after waiting about five minutes, I have been told that the lady in charge did not wish to see me again, and that concluded my visit.

SPANISH UNREST.

The strikes and political upheavals in Spain which have been steadily growing in volume and intensity for some time past, are ascribed by the British Press to German propaganda, German propoganda being the bogey which is nowadays said to be at the bottom of such troubles. Undoubtedly, some of the political strife is due to the rivalry between the school which desire that the policy of Spain should either incline towards the Allies or towards Germany, or should remain strictly neutral. In Spain, as elsewhere, there are, of course, the people who would drag Spain into the War, and the people who desire to keep out. But in addition to all this, the inflation of prices and food scarcity which the War is bringing upon all nations, neutral and belligerent alike, is causing hardship to the Spanish workers and causing a revolt against their hard conditions of life.

THE TURNING TIDE—(continued from Front Page).

Throughout the meeting, only two men prominent in the I.L.P. were on their feet at all, and one of these spoke as a member of the Labour Party Executive; whilst Fairchild, for the B.S.P., spoke but once, and very briefly. (I should mention, in passing, that as far as active participation is concerned, Friday's Conference was a purely masculine affair. There were, I think, fewer women delegates than usual, and not one of them had occasion to speak.) On the other hand, the "fighters-to-a-finish," who at Bristol and Manchester were confident of victory at the Congress, and who at Manchester, though perhaps less so than at Bristol, were still looking forward confidently to an Allied military victory, were at the London Conference the representatives of a defeated and in some degree a discredited faction. And, not taking kindly to their imminent defeat, and not relishing the decline in their hopes of a glorious victory for British and Allied arms, it was they who on Friday were noisy, turbulent and aggressive. It would hardly be true to say this of the more notable representatives of such views, of Sexton, Barnes, and Roberts. Sexton made a long speech, listened to with the usual amusement, but the amusement this time was comparatively unsympathetic, whilst his words lacked their old defiant ring. Roberts' speech was cold and bitter, and was coldly received. Barnes, the third of those who chiefly voiced the opposition to the revival of the International, spoke well and with unmistakable sincerity, but encountered no less unmistakable opposition. When I refer to the aggressiveness and turbulence of a defeated faction, I refer mainly to a very small section of delegates, one of whom, by repeated interruptions pushed to a point which made reasonable discussion difficult, frequently invited the attention of the chair. Finally, the Chairman appealed to the Conference, asking for a vote upon the question whether this interrupter should be asked to withdraw. The vote of confidence in the Chairman and of disapproval of the delegate's interference with free speech, was overwhelming. Then the Secretary of the Labour Party rose and made a personal appeal to the delegate. Never before, said Henderson, had it been necessary to exclude any delegate at a Labour Party Congress, and if the delegate on this occasion would agree for the remainder of the proceedings to abide by the ruling of the chair, he, Henderson, would suggest to the Chairman that the decision of the meeting should not be enforced. With a certain defiant dignity the delegate said he would rather accept the decision of the Congress than give a pledge of good behaviour, and stalked out of the hall. The incident was a trifling one when compared with the momentous issues which the Conference had to decide, but as a *sans patrie* I may perhaps be allowed to say that it confirmed my appreciation of the general excellence of the English rules of debate. I have considerable experience of similar gatherings in France, and a French congress under such stresses, under stresses far less severe, would have resembled the proverbial bear-garden!

In an ably-written and wonderfully impartial appreciation of the Conference published in Saturday's "Daily News," "H.M.T." writes: "The delegates' quietness might have been mistaken for apathy. A French journalist sitting beside me (during Henderson's statement), who had not before seen a representative gathering of our Labour world, was surprised. 'Are they always like this?' he asked. 'My people would have made an awful noise!' "—Noise is not unknown at English gatherings, expressive of assent, dissent, or enthusiasm, but the supreme characteristics of Friday's Conference were certainly its quietness and its businesslike energy. The Executive guided the Conference, but did not rule it. The statement made by Henderson merely confirmed the delegates in their new judgment. They have not been to Petrograd, like Henderson and Marcel Cachin, but the reflective workers have been affected by the wireless emanations from the Russian Revolution. The utterances of the men who had been to Petrograd convinced them that what they wanted to do was the wise thing to do, and they did it deliberately, with a full sense of responsibility. There were but two notable exceptions to the quietude of the proceedings. The first was the demonstration when MacDonald rose to speak. There was booing and there were cheers, but the cheers had it, the friendly feeling was enormously preponderant. The persistent interruptions (this was before the expulsion of the chief offender) made it difficult for MacDonald to develop his thoughts, and he was not in his best form; but as a demonstration of personal affection from many who have differed from him in points of detail in the past, and will doubtless differ from him in the future, the tribute was remarkable. The other exception was when, by a vote of 1,846,000 to 550,000 the Conference formally renounced the decision made by an almost equally large majority at Manchester, and agreed that English Labour was to co-operate in the revival of the International in war-time. The decision was received with enthusiasm. But there was no crowing on the part of those who for three years have been in an unpopular minority. There was nothing which could have made a visitor from another planet realise, what the Congress realised full well, the enormous significance of this turning of the tide.

I have said that there is always a risk at such assemblies of some half-conscious reversal of a policy that has just been accepted. For a time it seemed as if this were going to take place on Friday, when the Miners proposed to add to Resolution II. "that the party delegation consist of 24 delegates . . .," an amendment to the effect that no further delegation be permitted from Great Britain to Stockholm on the part of any other British organisation, whether affiliated or unaffiliated to the International. This, which really involved the attempt to prevent an adequate representation of "minority" views on the War (to secure which is one of the primary aims of the Stockholm Conference), was carried by a majority almost identical with that which had decided to participate at Stockholm. Had Snowden been able to speak before the vote was taken it might have affected the decision. After the vote he pointed out that the Labour Party had absolutely no power to rule out the representation of other bodies directly affiliated to the International, and ultimately the proposal was shelved by the passing of a motion to adjourn the Conference until Tuesday, August 21st, when the Executive Committee's report and draft memorandum on War issues will come up for discussion.

Apart from the bearing of Friday's decision upon the possibilities of speedily securing peace by negotiation, instead of hammering on indefinitely for a decision by military force, which may be as unattainable after six years of War as it apparently is after three, the most notable feature of the Conference was the awakening of the Labour Party to the existence of the International. Of course, the British Labour Party has been affiliated to the International, but its adhesion has been half-hearted, and it has never been more than a lame duck at international congresses. But on Friday internationalism permeated the Conference. Henderson's speech went far to imply a personal reconversion to an internationalist outlook. After the vote for Stockholm, the miners need no longer be considered as a drag upon the British labour coach. It was the internationalist spirit which unmistakably dominated the great majority of the delegates, and the sentiments which aroused the most cordial approval throughout were the sentiments of Socialist internationalism. Of nationalism there was still too much at the Central Hall, though most of it marched out as a counter-demonstration almost immediately after the votes for Stockholm had been taken. But of "national Socialism" there was not enough to float a child's paper boat. Long live the Socialist International!

WORKERS' & SOLDIERS' COUNCIL BANNED!

The following telegram was sent to the organisers:—"Provisional Committee, Workers' and Soldiers' Council,

"4 Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

"The following order has been issued: City of Glasgow prohibition of meetings of Workers' and Soldiers' Council we, the undersigned, acting under special authority conferred upon us by the Secretary for Scotland in pursuance of Regulation 9 A of the Defence of the Realm Regulations do hereby prohibit the holding of the meeting in Glasgow on Saturday, 11th August, 1917, called by the Provisional Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in whatever place it may be proposed to hold the same. Thomas Dunlop, Lord Provost, J. V. Stevenson, Chief Constable. Town Clerk, Glasgow."

Instead of the Conference the Glasgow comrades held a magnificent demonstration of protest under the auspices of the Glasgow Trades Council.

It is understood that an order is about to be issued in Birmingham which will authorise the Lord Mayor and the Chief Constable to prohibit the meeting of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council arranged to be held in the Priory Rooms, Birmingham, on Saturday next.

Arrangements are being made for holding a further Conference at Newcastle.

The Southern Counties Conference, which was to have been held at Southampton, was held at Portsmouth on Sunday. Mr. Perryman presided. The Conference was successful in every way. The resolutions were carried and the district representative was appointed.

The Lancashire District Conference, which was to be held at Manchester, was held on Saturday at Stockport. Some trouble was occasioned by organised hooligans.

As soon as definite arrangements can be made for the holding of the London Conference delegates will be notified.

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FOREIGN NEWS

GENERAL KORNILOFF'S ADVICE.

"Berner Tagwacht," 4/8/17.—According to the "Neue Münchener Nachrichten," the "Russkoye Slovo," publishes the following telegram from General Korniloff to the Provisional Government: "The Russian Army can by no means be disciplined and crowds are deserting. I am convinced that we are on the eve of the ruin of the country, and that the offensive should immediately stop on all fronts, in order to reorganise the army. Should the Government not accept my suggestion, which provides the only possibility of salvation, I shall resign."

DIFFICULTIES FACING RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.

"Berner Tagwacht," 3/8.—The "Dien," Kerensky's paper, says that the difficulties of the Provisional Government are so great and the dangers so numerous that no success can be expected from its heroic deeds. Famine, industrial catastrophe, and financial collapse are menacing the country.

Productive power is exhausted, communications destroyed, industry disorganised. Owing to the bad communication food is extremely scarce in the Riazian and Kasan Governments. The "Dien" reports that in Bessarabia crowds are practically starving, and suggests economic dictatorship.

* * * *

The "Berner Tagwacht" reports that Kerensky is of opinion that the Soviet should not interfere with the decisions of the executive powers in Russia.

LENIN'S STATEMENT.

"Berner Tagwacht," 7/8.—Lenin and Zinoview have published in the "Proletariatskoye Delo," a letter in which they explain why they have not appeared before the law courts. "At the present time there is no revolutionary law court, and we prefer to remain at liberty to continue the struggle for the liberation of the international proletariat."

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"Berner Tagwacht," 7/8.—The International Socialist Conference will take place on September 9th.

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"Berner Tagwacht," 7/8.—The "Retch" says: The Workers' and Soldiers' Council has decided to publish the secret treaties of the Czar's Government.

PEACE BANNERS

Peace Banners, small and light to carry, and about 27 inches wide, suitable for use as banners or posters, in W.S.F. colours, purple, green, red, on white ground, may be obtained from 400 Old Ford Road, E., price, 5s. each. The mottoes at present in stock:—

Stop this Capitalist War.
The Soldiers in the Trenches Long for Peace.
Bring Back our Brothers.
Bring Back our Husbands.
Bring Back our Sons.
I want my Daddy (about 18 inches wide).
War is Murder.
Negotiate for Peace on the Basis of No Annexations, No Indemnities; the Right of the Peoples to Decide their Own Destiny.

Contributions towards the cost of the Peace Banners will be gratefully received by the Hon. Treasurer, W.S.F.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

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SOUTHEND: Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a Furnished House conveniently situated.—Apply "400" this Office.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, N.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

August 7th.—Mr. Hogge (L.) drew attention to the disgraceful action of an officer who poured a mug of hot coffee over a soldier's head. Mr. Macpherson said the officer had expressed regret! Had the position been reversed, the soldier would surely have been punished. What an unjust institution Militarism is!

NO INCREASE FOR INSURED.

The Comptroller of the Household, Sir Edwin Cornwall, said that no increase could be made in the disablemen. benefit of 5s. per week. It would entail an increase in the contribution both of employers and employed. Since employers are making excess profits in so many cases, it does seem strange that the workers, to whom these profits are due, should receive no recognition.

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There is no necessity for members of the Diplomatic Service to retire until they attain the age of seventy Mr. Balfour announced. At present there is one Ambassador over that age. Is it any wonder that our diplomacy should be as it is?

CORN PRODUCTION BILL.

The Third Reading of the Corn Production Bill was taken and finally passed. Much criticism was again made of subsidising the farmer, and especially of fixing the low minimum of 25s. as minimum wage for farm labourers. Whilst the Bill provides for an endless amount of supervision likely to be resented by the farmers, it is meant to encourage them to till more. This makes the Corn Bill unique; it is liked neither by those whom it is supposed to benefit, nor by those who must continue to pay high prices—War or no War!

THE PUBLIC HEALTH BILL.

The Public Health Bill was given a Third Reading and passed. It will cause more trouble in Ireland, since vaccination laws are to be enforced more strictly. At present, in one area there are 2,000 people being prosecuted for non-compliance with this regulation. As Mr. King (L.) said, "it is a wonder that Sinn Fein is not growing more rapidly."

SOLDIERS' AND WORKMEN'S COUNCILS.

August 8th.—Mr. Ponsonby (L.) asked whether the regulation which deprives soldiers of the right of political association and the right of attending political meetings in uniform was to be cancelled, since soldiers are to be given votes? Mr. Macpherson answered by stating that the King's Regulations are to be "strictly and impartially enforced, and that soldiers are not to be permitted to join Soldier's and Workmen's Councils." If the attendance at political meetings is included in these regulations, will this be any guarantee against soldiers breaking up such meetings, or will it merely apply where the liberty of the soldier is concerned who wishes to give his support in a good cause?

SCOTTISH EDUCATION.

In order to increase the salaries of the teachers in Scottish schools, the Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Munro, asked for £400,000. This sum is to increase the average salary of the teacher from £112.2 to £126.7., or £14.4 per teacher per annum. Mr. Boland (I.N.) pointed out that there are teachers earning such sums as £94 and £75 yearly, and that these should be given a living wage first. Though Mr. Munro impressed on the House that the low-paid teachers were his first care, it does not seem that when one earns £5,000 a year that one can enter into the awful hardship of striving after high ideals without even the necessities of life. Mr. Munro must add at least £100 per annum instead of £14 before any real relief can be said to have been given to teachers.

SOLICITORS BILL.

In a most extraordinary manner the Government divided the Solicitors Bill passed in the House of Lords. Only that part reducing the number of examinations in the year was introduced by Sir G. Hewart. The reason for having such a Bill was that the number of candidates is too few. The Lords' Bill allowing women to practise as solicitors was ignored. Mr. Holt (L.), supported by several others, objected to the Commons' Bill because women were not included, and succeeded in postponing the Second Reading of the Bill for three months. Why the Government has not the same courage as the House of Lords in this matter remains still to be explained!

* * * *

August 9th.—The attacks made by the "Morning Post" upon the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and upon its representatives who were in this country, were commented upon by Mr. Outhwaite (L.). He asked whether action would be taken to prohibit the foreign circulation of that paper, but Lord R. Cecil replied in the negative. Mr. Outhwaite further pointed out that the leader-writer of he "Morning Post" is a man of military age, and the owner an old lady.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

The Joint Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Baldwin stated that the additional allowances to old-age pensioners of 2s. 6d. per week were "temporary in character and limited to the period of the War"!

CONSCRIPTION, OF ALIENS.

Sir George Cave alleged that since Mr. A. Bezalel had been arrested certain Russian subjects have taken a "more reasonable view of their obligations." Also that Bezalel had applied for release on certain undertakings. Russian subjects, according to Sir George Cave, are at liberty to return to their own country for service or remain and serve here. He evidently does not credit a Russian with having such a thing as a conscientious objection to War!

Replying to Mr. Trevelyan (L.), Sir G. Cave stated that the case of Miss Howsin would be examined again in "due course." The point is that what he may consider "due course" may greatly prolong Miss Howsin's detention, which we consider has already been far too lengthy!

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

The Franchise Bill was considered in Committee. Much time was spent in discussing the advisability of the alternative vote and P.R. for Universities. These were finally agreed to. But how much more debating is to go on before the country knows where it stands! We want a simple Franchise: one man, one vote; one woman, one vote—nothing else will be of use. This cobbling is only waste of time and energy!

A FIGHT TO A FINISH.

August 10th.—Mr. Outhwaite (L.) pointed out that many men over forty-one support the idea of a "fight to a finish," but refrain from offering their services. Mr. Macpherson said that he was well aware that "a vast majority of the nation of all ages and of both sexes are enthusiastic supporters of the policy of fighting until German Militarism is destroyed." What about British Militarism?

It would seem that the period for registering Russians desirous of returning to Russia was so short that many could not be attended to. What about their being given the chance now?

Mr. Clynes announced that the Scottish and Irish Departments of Agriculture were both consulted before the maximum prices for meat were fixed. Yet grass-fed beef is to cost more than stall-fed.

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The cost of selling the 4lb. loaf at 9d. should wheat remain the present price, Mr. Clynes stated would be about £40,000,000 a year. Since that sum will be gathered from the tax-payer we doubt whether there will be much reduction actually in the price of bread.

WAR LOAN BILL.

Mr. Bonar Law introduced a Bill which is to give power to the Government to issue a loan, though he assured the House that it was not his intention to issue a loan during the recess, yet "it would not be right that the adjournment should take place without our having the power to do it." Then he went on to talk jokingly of the unexpected always happening. Sir Frederick Banbury (U.) alleged that the Government had lost the confidence of the investing classes which was very fatal. He pointed out that securities had been requisitioned by the Government without due notice having been given to the owners. Also that these securities were requisitioned at a low price and that the Government can make about £1 on each share if it were to sell at market value. Mr. J. W. Henderson (L.) was very pessimistic as to the possibilities of another Loan. The banks are exhausted, private people will not lend because of the "fearful waste and squandering of money" that has been and is going on. Treasury notes are to-day £800,000,000, and that has not been paid off. Mr. D. Mason (L.) also spoke in a desponding manner of the financial outlook. His great desire is to have another Budget and more taxation, especially that the income-tax should be doubled! But let us suggest to Mr. Mason not on small incomes, rather on those of four figures. Mr. Outhwaite (L.) said that the "Victory Loan" was advertised as the last Loan; therefore, if another were issued the Government had got that money under false pretences. If a private individual used these methods, he felt sure that he would find himself in the dock. He demanded that should another Loan be issued the Government would be truthful about it.

EDUCATION BILL.

The object of the Education Bill, Mr. Herbert Fisher explained is: To provide, under the better operation of the existing machinery, "enlarged and enriched opportunities of education to the children of the poor."

One might easily add that not only the poor required these opportunities, and that educational methods for all classes are very deficient in the British Isles. Mr. Fisher sketched the good to come of this proposed Bill, which is, briefly: The raising of the school age to 14; the abolition of all exemptions between the ages of five and 14; the establishment of nursery schools for children under five; compulsory part-time education between the ages of 14 and 18 amounting to 320 hours in the year—exemptions to be granted to those who had suitable full-time instruction up to the age of 16, or who passed the matriculation examination of a university of the United Kingdom, or an examination recognised as an equivalent to that, or who are proved unsuitable or deficient for part-time instruction. Further, no child under 12 shall be employed in shops, and that children between the ages of 12 and 14 may be employed between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. on Saturdays and during school holidays. The termination of the War Mr. Fisher regards as the most appropriate time for this "drastic" changes in juvenile labour, because of the large mass of new labour likely to be in the labour market. Yet in pre-War days children were employed, not because of scarcity of labour, but for cheapness. During the three years of the War, Mr. Fisher admitted that 600,000 children have been "prematurely" withdrawn from school and become immersed in industry. There is no proof that this injustice was necessary: therefore, we may assume it was done to obtain cheaper labour than was possible otherwise under war conditions. The duty of seeing that improved schemes suitable to the various localities are arrived at is to be placed on the Council of every county and county borough, which is to submit schemes to the Board. Therefore, the first thing to do is to see to it that these Councils are supplied with progressive members, not of the usual official mind, and that men and women will share the duties jointly. Mr. Fisher used the word "compelled" rather freely, which made his otherwise practical speech savours of prison life. Perhaps he did so to gain the support of the Conscriptionists. Commander Wedgwood (L.), though complimentary to Mr. Fisher, was hearty in his condemnation of a system which, he said, is to look after a child from the age of four until 18 by a process of Government inspection. He asked for more opportunities to be afforded to the people and less compulsion. Commander Wedgwood was sure that the parents would not have this Bill, since they were only waiting for the earnings of the children to make ends meet. It is surprising to hear a man make such statements when he must know that the economic position of the parents drives them to make wage-slaves of their children. He was certainly right in urging that education up to 18 would not ensure physical superiority without the guarantee of good food. Mr. Fisher must either provide maintenance or co-operate with the Labour Ministry, and enforce a method by which a family with growing children will not be in any want through prolonged education of the children. Half-time work, he had said, undermines the child's aptitude for learning, but bad and inadequate food is equally detrimental to both mental and bodily progress. Mr. Fisher confessed that his Bill was not ideal, but would allow of improvement. We hope when the Second Reading comes off that some Members will take a stand against the machine tendency of the Bill, and see that more attention is paid to the development of the child as a human element and not as a machine to make a return for what is the right of every human being: the opportunity of developing the faculties and gifts bestowed by nature.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ILLEGAL.

August 13th.—Mr. King (L.) stated that at the recent Irish Trade Union Congress it was decided to send delegates to Stockholm International Conference. He asked, were the passports applied for, and were they granted? Mr. Balfour replied that no application for passports had been made, and that in any case they would not have been granted. Mr. Bonar Law, in reply to other questions, cleared the situation up by announcing that the Law Officers had advised the Government that it was illegal for any persons resident in His Majesty's Dominions to engage in a Conference with enemy subjects without the license of the Crown. The Government has decided not to give permission to attend the Conference, and the United States, France and Italy have done likewise.

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The Committee Stage of the War Loan Bill was taken. No amendments were made.

SECRET CONFERENCE.

Mr. Snowden (Lab.) pointed out that the French, German and British financiers were present at a conference lately in Switzerland. The purpose was to aim at an immediate Peace such as would arrest the growth of International Socialism. Is International Finance alone to be privileged? Mr. Balfour knew nothing of the matter. Really!

* * * *

Mr. Snowden (Lab.) stated that the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in Glasgow held a meeting outside the Hall where the Conference was to be held; that 10,000 people attended, and the resolution was passed unanimously by them. Mr. Munro, who had stated that the Conference was proclaimed for fear of violence, was unable to make any defence of the action taken. It's all for the sake of freedom!!

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILL.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, Mr. Brace, introduced a Bill, with many apologies, to increase by 25 per cent., the compensation to all totally incapacitated cases arising out of injury in the industries of the country. Sir Frederick Banbury (U.), Sir Charles Seeley (L.), Mr. W. Thorne (Lab.), Mr. Herbert Samuel (L.) expressed great approval of the project, and the Bill was read a second time.

THE PEACE PICKET

Letters pour in congratulating us on our Peace Picket of the House of Commons, and the hostile criticism of our action which has appeared in the Press has merely served to spread the news of what we are doing further afield.

On Thursday afternoon, August 9th, the picket again appeared at the House, and again, though there was some hostility, the majority of the people were friendly. A Labour War Emergency Committee meeting took place at the House during the afternoon and many of the Labour delegates who had come up from the provinces for the Conference on Stockholm next day also visited the House, so that we came in touch with many Labour representatives. We had the great pleasure of being introduced to David Kirkwood, who was with Councillor Kerr, of Glasgow. Two members of the Merthyr I.L.P. introduced us to James Winstone, who fought against the Jingo Stanton in the Merthyr by-election. We saw Councillor Glyde and many other friends from Yorkshire, Lancashire, and all parts of the Kingdom. Mr. James Sexton, unfortunately one of the Jingo-Socialist party, told us that he used to think as we do once upon a time.

An officer in khaki asked one of us what she would do if he took her banner away. She said she could not prevent him, as it was obvious that he was the stronger, but asked him not to take it. He then took it by force. A policeman was standing by, and she said: "Ask this gentleman to give me back my banner." The officer, who was evidently not without fear of the arm of the law, lied glibly, saying: "She gave it me." The policeman answered: "Oh, well, if you gave it to him——." Further argument was useless, for the officer quickly strode away.

An excitable man tried to snatch a bundle of DREADNOUGHTS from one of our younger pickets, but her companions rallied to her support, and at that point Mr. Ben Tillett appeared and led the excitable man away.

On Thursday evening our pickets were cheered by members of the A.S.E. who had attended the meeting of the National Socialists at the Central Hall close by, and who left the meeting as a protest when the Chairman refused to allow the meeting to vote on their amendment urging that the Stockholm Conference should be supported. As they withdrew they were called "pro-Huns," and asked to turn out their pockets to show their German gold, but this did not trouble them. They were delighted to find us outside, and especially pleased with our banner: "Stop this Capitalist War." On Friday we picketed outside the Central Hall, where the Labour Conference was held, and were joined by members of the Women's Peace Crusade.

BIG PUSH.

On Saturday, August 11th, we had a day's campaign at Kentish Town with the St. Pancras Branch. The meeting in Malden Road was very successful, several people promising to join the local branch. At Cobden Statue meeting in the evening we were joined by the Women's Peace Crusade. Canadian soldiers, supported by some old men, wished to make a disturbance, but the people were so hostile to them and so favourable to the speakers that they were forced to be quiet. Several new members and some of our young club members from Bow helped. Mrs. Collins and Mrs. Operman kindly arranged tea for us at the B.S.P. Hall, Malden Road.

To-day (Saturday) we shall hold meetings in Harrow Road, 3.30, and Hyde Park at 6.30. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and ex-Inspector Syme will be among the speakers. Helpers are asked to meet at Mrs. Casey's, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, at 2.45 p.m.

LONDON SECTION GENERAL MEETING.

At the London Section General Meeting on August 13th a resolution was carried calling on the Government to grant passports for the Labour delegates to go to Stockholm.

BRANCHES.

Bow members are asked to hand in their subscriptions on Friday evenings to Mrs. Gunning.

THE

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Address Correspondence on:—
Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier.
W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.
"Dreadnought," Miss O'Callaghan.
Other Literature, Miss Bush.

The W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends to visit its offices and social institutions.

CENTRAL OFFICE: 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3

THE MOTHERS' ARMS: 438 Old Ford Road, E.3 Mother and Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays 2.30 p.m. Infant Clinic and Day Nursery, 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.

MONTESSORI SCHOOL: 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. (by appointment with Miss Muriel Matters) at the Mothers' Arms.

THE WOMEN'S HALL: 20 Railway Street (opposite South Bromley Station on the North London Railway) Mother and Infant Clinic, Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays and Thursdays at 2.30 p.m. Cost Price Restaurant, &c.

53 ST. LEONARDS STREET, BROMLEY: Mother and Infant Clinic, Literature depot, &c. Doctors' Consultations and Baby Weighing, Friday 10.30 a.m.

COST PRICE RESTAURANT: 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3, and 20 Railway Street, Poplar.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP: 85 Hoxton Street, off Old Street, off Shoreditch. Literature on Communism, Feminism, Internationalism, Socialism.

CO-OPERATIVE TOY INDUSTRY: By appointment with Miss Norah Smyth.

THE WORKERS' CHOIR: Applications for Membership to Mrs. Herebergova, 45 Norman Road, E.

SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL: 20 Railway Street, Poplar. Sunday Afternoons, 3 p.m.

OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Edgar Lansbury, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENEAL FUND.—Misses Gliksten, £1; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Miss Isabella Rae, £1; Mr. Mackintosh, 5s.; Mr. J. A. Marriott, 2s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Bouvier, 5s. 0½d.; Mrs. Cressall, 4s. 8d.; Adult Suffrage Demonstration Expenses, Islington W.S.F., 2s. 6d.; General Meeting, 1s. 10d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Robson Paige, Esq., £5; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.; Mr. F. Thomas, 1s.; Miss S. W. Newsome (monthly), 1s.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—Mrs. Ruby Albery, £1; Mrs. Brimley, £1; Mrs. Craigie, 5s.; P. Osborn Langton, 5s.; J. Ambrose, 1s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Miss I. V. Yeoman (10s. weekly), £4; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly), £2; per Miss Weir (30s. monthly), £2; Misses Mann (monthly), £1; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 12s.; Mrs. Oak, 10s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Mrs. Baynes, 10s.; Miss Leila Burroughs, 10s.; Miss Schaub, 5s. 6d.; Sergt. Male, 5s.; Miss J. T. Drewry (monthly), 5s.; Rathmell Wilson, Esq., 5s.; Mr. F. Thomas, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Rintel, 13s.; Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 11s. 3d.; Mrs. W. Sinclair, 8s. 6d.; Miss Fanny Zuitar (Box), 7s. 6d.; Mrs. Crabb, 3s. 1½d.

FLOWERS.—Mrs. Stavers.

WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17th.
"Whitmore Head," Hoxton, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Miss Beamish.
Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
SATURDAY, AUGUST 18th.
Meetings, 3.30 and 6.30 p.m. (see "Great Push.").
SUNDAY, AUGUST 19th.
Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Mr. L. Hogben.
Highbury Corner (joint meeting with the B.S.P.), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Trafalgar Square, 4 p.m., Adult Suffrage Demonstration.
THURSDAY, AUGUST 23rd.
Cannon Street Road, Commercial Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
SATURDAY, AUGUST 25th.
Meetings, 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. (see "Great Push").

INDOOR

MONDAY, AUGUST 20th.
53 St. Leonard's Street, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Sizer, "The Work of the League of Rights in Walthamstow."
TUESDAY, AUGUST 21st.
I.W.W. Hall, 76 Whitechapel Road, 8 p.m., Mr. S. V. Bracher, "Peace"; chair, Miss Beamish.
THURSDAY, AUGUST 23rd.
St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, 8.15 p.m., Mrs. Sizer, "The Work of the League of Rights in Walthamstow."

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Kingsley Hall, Bow, August 19th, 8.15 p.m., Reginald Sorensen.

HOXTON JUMBLE SALE.

This has been postponed to next month in order to collect enough things to have a really successful sale. Contributions still urgently needed. Please send parcels to Hon. Sec., 85 Hoxton Street, N.1. Gratefully acknowledged from "Anon," Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Mann.

SHEFFIELD W.S.F.—TWO GREAT MEETINGS.

At Snig Hill on Sunday afternoon, August 12th, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst addressed a large audience, in spite of the heavy rain, which, however, fortunately cleared off at 3.30. Two resolutions were put to the meeting; the first, for adult suffrage, was carried unanimously, the second, for peace negotiations to be opened on the Russian basis—no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the people to decide their own destiny—was carried with but one dissentient. DREADNOUGHTS were sold out.

At seven, in the A.S.E. Institute, Miss Pankhurst addressed a meeting convened by the Sheffield W.S.F. and the United Socialist Council, to which the W.S.F. is affiliated. Mr. Fletcher took the chair. The hall was packed, and hundreds of people were turned away. The meeting enthusiastically supported Peace, Adult Suffrage, and Socialism.

HOLLOWAY W.S.F.

A meeting to form a Holloway Branch of the W.S.F. will be held on Monday, September 3rd, at eight p.m., at the Co-operative Hall, Seven Sisters' Road, Holloway (entrance to the hall second door up the gateway in Thane Villas). Speakers: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

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JOIN OUR GREAT PUSH FOR THE

PEOPLE'S CHARTER!

ORGANISED BY THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION, 400 OLD FORD ROAD, E.3

PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

Stop the hideous slaughter by ending the War! Down with Profiteering! Secure Food and Necessaries for all! Not Votes for some but Adult Suffrage! Down with the House of Lords!

Summer Campaign for Education!

Meetings! Literature Distribution! Individual Talks with Everyone!

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18th, WEST CENTRAL AND HYDE PARK DISTRICT—Meet: 29B LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C., 2.45 p.m.; Meetings: PRINCE OF WALES, Harrow Road, 3.30 p.m.; HYDE PARK (Marble Arch), 6.30 p.m.
Secretary for the day: Miss CASEY, 29B Lincoln's Inn Fields.
1st Meeting: Mrs. BOUVIER, Mrs. CRESSALL, and Miss LYNCH.
2nd Meeting: Mrs. BOUVIER, Ex-Inspector SYME, and Mrs. BESSIE WARD, Miss PANKHURST.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25th, KENSAL RISE DISTRICT—Meet: 10 MILMAN ROAD, West Kilburn, 2.45 p.m.; Meetings: MANOR PARK ROAD, 3 p.m., ILBERT STREET, KILBURN LANE, 7 p.m. Secretary for the day: Mrs. EDWARDS, 30 Clifford Gardens, Kensal Rise, N.W.
1st Meeting: Mrs. BUTLER, Mrs. CRESSALL and Miss LYNCH. 2nd Meeting: Mr. H. G. RUSSELL, Ex-Inspector SYME, and Miss LYNCH.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st, ISLINGTON DISTRICT—Meet: 255 LIVERPOOL ROAD, 2.45 p.m.; Meetings: 3 p.m. and 7 p.m.
Secretary for the day: Miss ISAACS, 255 Liverpool Road, N.1
Speakers: Miss LYNCH, Mr. B. W. SORENSEN, Mrs. CRESSALL, and others.

ADULT SUFFRAGE & DOWN WITH THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Great Trafalgar Square Demonstration, Sunday, Aug. 19, 4 p.m.

Organised by W.S.F. and Workers National Adult Suffrage Movement.

Speakers: Mr C. G. AMMON (I.L.P.), Mr. G. BELT ("Herald"), Mrs. BOUVIER (W.S.F.), Mrs. BOYCE (W.S.F.), Mrs. BUTLER, Mr. E. W. CANT (B.S.P.), Coun. W. CARTER, Mr. W. CARTER (N.U.R.), Ald. D. J. DAVIS, J.P., (West Ham Trades Council), Mrs. DRAKE (W.S.F.), Mr. J. FINEBERG (B.S.P.), Coun. BEN GARDNER, Mrs. GATTY, Mr. R. M. GENTRY (Co-operative Bakers' Union), Mr. C. W. GIBSON (Workers' Union), Mr. W. HOLMES (Labour Party), Miss MANICOM (Workers' Union), Mr. V. L. McENTIE (B.S.P.), Mrs. MONTEFIORI, Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, Rev. W. PIGGOTT (U.D.C.), Rev. C. A. WILLS, and others.

PROCESSIONS FROM NORTH, SOUTH, EAST AND WEST LONDON

NORTH LONDON: St. Pancras Arches, 2.30 p.m. Organiser: Mr. W. CHILTON, 14 Ascham Street, Kentish Town. EAST LONDON: Beckton Road, Canning Town, 1.15 p.m.; Dock Gates, Poplar, 2 p.m.; Gardiner's Corner, 3 p.m. Organiser: Miss NORAH SMYTH, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. SOUTH LONDON: The Dun Cow, Old Kent Road, 2.30 p.m. Organiser: Mr. ROWLING, 182 Rolls Road, Bermondsey. WEST LONDON: Prince of Wales, Harrow Road, 2 p.m.; Paddington Green, 2.50 p.m.; Tottenham Court Road and Euston Road, 3.30 p.m. Organiser: Mr. E. J. HOLDER, 104 Bathurst Gardens, Willesden.

Hon. Treasurer: Dr. A. SALTER, J.P., 5 Storks Road, Bermondsey, S.E.
Hon. Financial Secretary: Mr. G. H. PRATT, 1 Mervyn Road, W. Ealing.
Chairman: Mr. W. CARTER, 38 Leverton Street, Kentish Town.
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.